



POLITICS, ART

EDITORIAL SECTION



SCIENCE, LITERATURE

Evils of Divorce. = = By Bishop Potter.

Written Especially for the Sunday Journal.

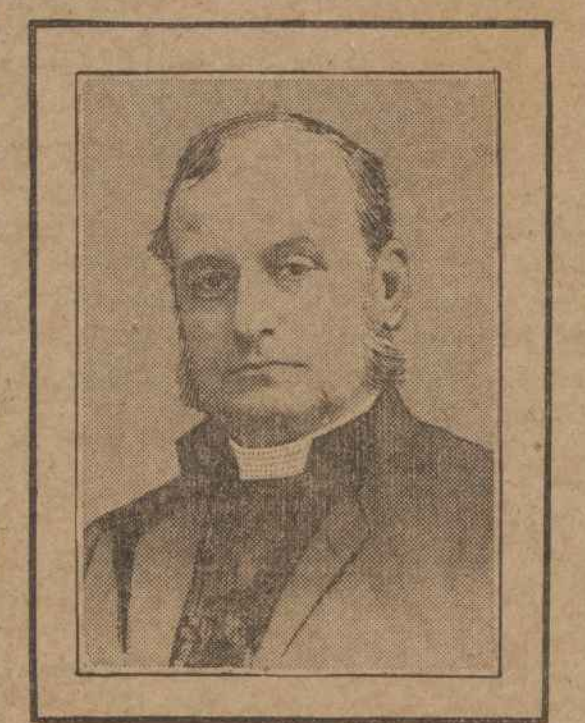


If the Church has not at hand the tool or man, or woman for a particular task she may wisely employ, or honor if she does not employ, such social mechanisms as, being wholesome and helpful, are fitted to a particular occasion. And in this spirit she may honor, and herself reproduce university or college settlements or any other of the manifold and graceful agencies, the creche, the kindergarten, the clubroom, the libraries, recreation halls and all the rest, which social interest any sympathy have reached among us to-day.

But when these things are done, and other greater things are done; when our tenements are rebuilt and their occupancy regulated by just laws; when we have torn down whole blocks of buildings, as we are doing in New York to-day, and converted them into blooming parks—even then we have not laid the foundations of a stable civilization nor reared the walls of a righteous social order.

There is but one hand that can do that, but one divine force that can maintain it! And here to-day and forever we see the place in such a community as this, in such a nation as this, of religion and the divinely appointed institutions of religion. In one word, the world still waits for the message, the standards, the eternal authority of Jesus Christ in His word and in His church. Take these our of human society and, so far as its decay and downfall, sooner or later, are concerned, it is of little consequence what else you leave. If we review the history of what we are wont to call the higher civilization we shall find that their progress and their permanence have largely turned upon the Christian sanctions, which, as in Greece and Rome, doomed those earlier civilizations, for want of them, to decay and ruin. The family is indeed older

than the Catholic Church, but it was the religion of Jesus Christ which took the family, consecrated its venerable relations, ennobled its original authority and lifted its august sanctions into their divinized place. And to-day it must be that same supernatural institution that shall both interpret and decree for us what in that and kindred fellowships we owe, first to God and then to one another.



The subject relates itself very closely to another divine institution to which of late the public attention has been drawn and with which the Church in this land has very seriously concerned itself—I need hardly

say that I refer to the institution of marriage.

It has been held by men of ripe wisdom and judgment that the only course for the Church to pursue was to refuse remarriage to persons divorced. Such a remedy for our present evils would doubtless be, as some of us may think, a very drastic one, but the evil has grown to such proportions, it may justly be answered, that we can meet it with no other; and in one sense this is undoubtedly true. A wider view of the whole subject, however, will disclose to us, I think, the fact that it is not the only remedy, and that if accepted as a final solution of the whole social problem of which, after all, it is but a small part, we are destined to be disappointed as to its results.

For that wider view will reveal to us that the social relations of our time, in all their various ramifications, have been profoundly affected by causes which reside in the character of our free institutions and in that spirit of the age—in which the historian of the future will discern perhaps its mightiest force. I may best describe that spirit as far as we are here concerned with it as the spirit of individualism. The great movement which issued here in the revolt of the American colonies and their subsequent separation from the mother country was only part of a larger whole, which profoundly affected not only the mother country, but France, Germany and, later, Italy—which is at work to-day even in Russia, and which has wholly or partially dethroned some of the most widely ruling ideas of earlier ages. I may not trace its progress elsewhere, here at any rate, it has issued in the almost complete abrogation of some earlier forms of authority, and not only that, but of some of the most venerable and sacred traditions of the community and the State. In this direction nothing has been more serious than those results which have affected the family, and especially the institutions and obligations of marriage.

These last have come to be so lightly regarded that now, at length, the least thoughtful among us are

beginning to realize the vicious tendencies in some forty or fifty different commonwealths of our composite and contradictory legislation, and to recognize that the facility with which the marriage relation may be taken on and put off is a menace to the foundations of society and the best of the civilized world.

It would be well that the Church should meet such a situation with a stern front and with legislation which, so far as she is concerned, will make divorce increasingly difficult if not impossible. But she must do a great deal more than that, and she must beware of the delusion that in doing only that she has done anything more than a very small part of her duty. However we may safeguard the solemnization of holy matrimony we must not less lift up and safeguard the approaches to it. No legislation, whether ecclesiastical or civil, which touches only the terms and conditions of the contract itself, will do a work which must needs be done before it is entered into. We may reiterate with utmost solemnity, "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." It will be quite in vain unless we see to it that those reasonable precautions of forethought, inquiry, publicity and of intelligent understanding of the obligations to be assumed, which once obtained, have preceded it. These were wise provisions of our fathers' times, but that spirit of individualism which, in the case of authority of the Church, would brook none of these things has swept them away.

The Church's office should not be merely to re-establish and exalt the ancient sanctities of marriage, but first of all that most ancient institution in which it took its rise. The decay of the august sacredness of marriage in our day is not more alarming than the painful tokens which salute us of the disintegration of the home. A clever paper which I saw not long ago in a foreign periodical describes a home which has lost its surviving parent. The executor of the estate, a lifelong friend of the family, is pointing out to the family the resources available to them if they continue to live

together, and each in turn gives the reasons which in the case of several individuals make any such course impossible. They are frivolous reasons, supremely selfish reasons, but they triumph to the complete breaking up of a home, and furnish one more illustration of the disintegrating power, even when it touches so sacred and venerable a thing, of individualism. We must needs recognize that vicious influence in the decay of parental authority, in the early impatience of it on the part of boys and girls, in the increasing reluctance to exercise it where its exercise involves pain and painstaking in the strident note, in one word in so many homes whose cry is "I will," or "I won't," and not, "I ought."

Such a situation calls for clear and plain teaching from the pulpit, and the still mightier teaching of a fine and high example in all our homes. If we are to see, in the matter of our domestic obligations, whether they are martial, filial or parental, that wide awakening of Christian conscience which our land so sorely needs, it will be because the principle on a divine authority over all these relations has been revived and enshrined among us, and because in the training of our children, and in the consecration of every other most sacred tie we have refused to go below it.

The application of that august authority in other aspects of it is a no less sore need of these times. It ought surely to sober us that along with the decay of family integrity and the sanctity of the marriage tie there has gone side by side no less wide decay of the observance of the Lord's Day and of other sacred times and seasons. In our eagerness to prove that we are no longer Puritans, some of us seem anxious to demonstrate that we are pagans; and the secularization of the Lord's Day especially by people with abundant leisure on other days for social exchanges and every kind of recreation is a scandal of which they who are guilty of it should be ashamed, and for which all Christian people have cause to grieve.

HENRY C. POTTER,
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The Jew in America. = = = By H. Zangwill.



Like the Jews feeling the stimulus of American life, which is Western life in its latest expression, have shaken off or modified Oriental life. This wave of modern thought and this Western way of living, combined with their dispersion through vast spaces, instead of being huddled together in the warmth of a common religion, has de-orientalized them here more than anywhere except Germany. But at present, stimulated by works published by the Jewish Publication Society, of Philadelphia, there is a reaction toward Orientalism, of which it is impossible now to foretell the extent.

One says this will be increased by this play of Oriental manners, customs and ceremonies, being considered chiefly by the poorer vulgar instead of the cultured. But the mere fact that forms and ceremonies does not make them American Judaism is beginning to gravitate toward the point of view of the past. It begins to feel the part of a vast historical change that the period before Greece at

In short, the Jews are beginning to evolve the historical sense, which is only a variety of the aesthetic sense, since whatever is past begins to gather color and atmosphere. Thus, I am told, many American Jewish families, who a generation ago sold off their Sabbath lamps as vulgar evidences of their past, have not hesitated to buy them back at ten times their former price, perceiving that they are beautiful and historical objects.

I have not personally noticed any anti-Semitism in America. Indeed, I have been pleasantly struck with the magnanimity and tolerance of the American people. Thus, last year, when I was in Philadelphia at the season of Jewish New Year, I was much gratified to find a great daily organ coming out with the Jewish New Year greeting printed in Hebrew above its title. This is a thing I have never before seen in any newspaper in the world, and it shows the sympathetic ties between Jews and their fellow citizens. Many New York journals have had kindly notices of the festivals which the Jews have observed this month in celebration of the year 5660, according to the Jewish calendar.

I believe it has been established that the United States is not a "Christian nation," as much as there is no established church of any kind, and that the broad principles of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God suffice as a basis or *modus vivendi* for all sects and classes.

It is only in newspapers that I have read of petty examples of American anti-Semitism, such as the ex-

clusion of Jews from a few Summer hotels. Although I am willing to believe that the blame is to be divided



both between the excluded and the excluders, yet I could wish, for the sake of the great principles of the

American Constitution, which should override the comfort or discomfort of a few Summer boarders, that public opinion should stamp decisively upon this embryonic germ of some future Dreyfus drama. Possibly some few Jews who have gained money before they have had time to gain culture may be a little loud and a little unpleasing to many gentlemanly Americans of the same income. But exclusion carries with it such tremendous dangers and such peril of resuscitating the old mediaeval savagery, which Americans came to overthrow, that this deadly weapon of social excommunication should be resorted to only whenever any other method fails. And as one who has closely studied the Jewish character in its shades as well as its lights, as one who has always written without fear or favor, I can assure our squeamish and impatient American aristocrats that the disappearance of any unpleasant social taints in the Jew is only a question of one generation.

The most offensive Jew who has made money is humbly anxious for his children to have better social advantages than he had. And from the strident and assertive Jews who have grown coarse in the struggle for existence will come the quiet and cultivated ladies and gentlemen who will be an enormous force for good in the America of to-morrow. The same is true of America at large, not merely Jews.

You may see these finer specimens springing up all around and coming to the front in your schools and universities. As an example very near to hand, and

one that naturally occurs to me, here am I sitting in the rooms of Dr. Hollander, professor of political economy in the Johns Hopkins University, whose work on "The Financial History of Baltimore" is already a classic. I have just migrated from the rooms in Washington of Dr. Cyrus R. Adler, the famous Orientalist and keeper of MSS. in the Smithsonian Institution, and Dr. Friedland, who is one of the librarians of Congress. When it is remembered that another Dr. Adler was the projector of the Midway Plaisance in Chicago, which was built by a Jewish architect of the same name, you have high examples of the striking way in which the Jew is to the fore, promoting the best interests of every nation.

There is not a country in Europe in which investigation will not show the hand of the Jew behind the greatest national organizations. The importance of all that he does for good is negated by the disproportionate attention concentrated on the few Jews who happen to be wicked and vulgar.

That the Jews are a race of angels is not more true than that they are a race of devils. The truth is that their average of public and private virtue is higher rather than lower than that of Christian people, many elements of which have never yet been redeemed from their primitive paganism. This is only natural when we consider that Jewish civilization is some 3,000 years old, whereas a thousand years after Christ half of Europe had not accepted Christianity, even nominally.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

New Political Questions. = By Prof. A. T. Hadley.

President of Yale University.



Days of legislative debate numbered, if, indeed, they have not already ended. Conventions and parliaments have been compelled to abandon watchword of free speech and to adopt in one or another the principle of closure. The system of representative government, signed originally as a check on administration and a free discussion to measure independent administration, ceases as a means of discussion as a means of discussion. "Have won victories unarmy ever won a victory

of public business the legislative and irresponsible body, on account of its numbers. It was to form and image body of members was in object to manage the actual intelligently numbers are a help. The difficulty is height-became a system. When of public sentiment too much publicity. When the public business two houses bility, with all the consequent delay and And the syste

admirable as a means of representing all the different sections of the community, becomes under the new conditions a positive disadvantage. In the creation of public sentiment it gave us an exchange of opinions; in the dispatch of public business it means exchange of favors. Instead of co-operation in the general interests we have log-rolling for particular interests.

The difference of aims, which puts the economist at a disadvantage in dealing with the legislature, ought apparently to put him at a corresponding advantage in advising the executive. For the head of the executive department, be he wise or unwise, disinterested or self-seeking, nevertheless regards himself as a representative of the whole people rather than of small sections of the people. It would seem that such an executive, on whom the nation relies for progress, in the fact of judicial conservatism and for wise collective action in the face of legislative particularism, would feel more than ever the need of advice from trained economists to guide him in the work of administration.

But it is not always the case that the administration has this power to carry on a policy of its own. For centuries we have been busy devising constitutional checks of the royal prerogative. We have had so much reason to fear usurpations of power on the part of the executive that we have not left him that modicum of power which is needed for good government. If he has to face an adverse majority in the legislature he is tied hand and foot. If his own party controls the legislature he must consult the representatives of the various districts and pay the price which they exact for supporting his measures; and he is often reduced to the yet more questionable expedi-

ent of seeking support for his renomination and reelection in order to have time to give his policy a fair trial. Under such circumstances he is often compelled to be a politician first and a statesman afterward. However much he may desire the advice of economists and even avail himself of their services, he is frequently bereft of the power to utilize them.

But things are by no means at their worst. On the contrary, if we compare the conditions of to-day with those of thirty years ago, we see an increase of economic methods and economic influence in some parts of the work of government. Particularly true is this in municipal affairs. It was there that the need for a good business administration came most directly home to the citizens. It is there that councilmen and aldermen have suffered restrictions of their power and that real authority has been given to the executive. It is there that the credit for good business management and the discredit for bad business management can be more clearly brought home to the official with whom it belongs. And it is there, also, that the advice of economic experts counts for most. It is not an accident that so much of the careful study of problems of finance and administration is to-day dealing with matters of municipal government; it is a consequence of that increased centralization of administrative powers which gives the expert a fair chance. But the reform is not likely to stop at that point.

Whatever we may think of imperialism as a sentiment or of national expansion as a policy—and I was one of those who looked upon them with regret—these are the things to which we are already committed. This policy brings new problems of administration leave Congress to make what laws it pleased, and national ruin. Here is the opportunity for the younger economists of the country.

When we were only governing ourselves we could

than before to study the art of national government.

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American people to prevent irreparable damage. But we now have to deal with peoples who have not this good sense and this political education. More than that, we have to deal with them in the sight of all the world and in the face of hostile powers, who will be only too ready to make our misgovernment a pretext for interference. We can no longer content ourselves with the laxness of method which has characterized our dealings with the inhabitants of our Western territories.

The need of an efficient army will of itself compel our people to give more independence to the administration and more opportunities to its expert advisers. The need for a government of our new colonies which shall recognize the principle of trusteeship rather than of spoliation must conduce yet more strongly toward the same result. The need of increased public revenue to meet our larger administrative expenditures will render it necessary to subordinate the demands of the several districts to the general necessities of the country. With no colonies and a small army we could do what we pleased with our revenue bills. With larger possessions and larger necessities for defence they must be framed by a responsible administration on a sound economic basis.

Just how this change of governmental methods will come about none can venture to predict. That we shall adopt the English system of cabinet responsibility seems unlikely; but that we shall adopt some system which will cause the different branches of our government to operate harmoniously is a foregone conclusion. The alternative is national disgrace, if not national ruin. Here is the opportunity for the younger economists of the country.

